2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

DIVORCE

A couple who could not get along together, generally brought their case to the Keeper of the Meeting or, later, the governor. He tried to reconcile them until the affair recurred so often that he sanctioned their separation. Where the whipping post was in use, the person whom the Keeper considered responsible for the difference was whipped, the other party naming the number of strokes. 586

The woman went back to her family taking the small children (1), or the daughters (26). She left her baskets and everything she had made, though it was proper to take one basket of provisions. If the husband decided he wanted her back, he must again get the Keeper of the Meeting as mediator and might have to stand a whipping before she would return. The woman might change her mind and go back to her husband by the same means. Both immediately married again, unless the husband already had wives enough. The wife might look around and find a man for herself, but if she did not, the family would soon dispose of her, since an adult unmarried woman in a house was an abnormality.

The most usual cause for divorce was bad temper and next was the fact that the spouse had gone off with someone else. Laziness was not so often fatal. A man would bring in another wife: a woman would complain to her family and the Keeper, but would not leave her husband except for further cause.

A few accounts of marriages follow: 581 586

"Angelita's husband was a shaman who married four sisters. He was old when he took the youngest, but being a shaman, he knew how to make her love him." (26)

"A man had two wives, each of whom slept in a separate enclosure. One night he came out of the enclosure of the second wife and went to that of the first. She threw dirt at him and berated him for going to the other woman. The other ran out and began to scold. This mother-in-law said to the man, 'Don't put a hand on them. It's your own fault. You wanted them.' So the women pulled each other's hair and knocked each other down. But they kept on with the man. They never left. They were not sisters." (26)

"A woman I know married several different men but each one had a wife already. She was always fighting with these co-wives and each of the husbands finally left her. She never had the sense to take a single man." (26)

"Crooked Lightning left his wife. She was lazy and mean, but he never scolded her. He simply left. Crooked Lightning's sister was married to one of his friends so when that friend heard he was free, he gave him his niece to make them closer." (26)

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

581
586 "A playful woman had married three or four men but had left them all. She was at a drinking ceremony and danced all night with a chief who was tall and liked to dance, but he was old. She could not see that at night. In the morning he put her on the horse with him to go home. She said, "Where do you live?' 'At the place of the Dead Dog.' 'Oh, that's too far.' So she jumped off the horse and left him. She had seen by the rising sun that he was old." (26)

"The chief of our village is so old that he is blind and deaf. He has lived all his life with one wife. They never quarrel. That is true of many of our people." (26)

THE BERDACHE

838 The male transvestite was a common figure. It is comprehensible that a man who balked at the rigors of war and hunting should accept woman's clothing as an alternative entirely without opprobrium. But the berdache was said to have been discovered in early childhood. If the parents found that a boy liked female pursuits they tested him. The regular pattern, mentioned by many informants, was to build a small enclosure and place in it bow and arrows and basketry materials. Thechild was told to go in and play and then the parents set fire to the enclosure. They watched what he took with him as he ran out and if it was the basketry materials, they reconciled themselves to his being a berdache.

The berdache performed women's work. He made one of the group of women on food gathering expeditions and was treated as one of themselves. He was often a clever potter and basket maker and an asset on food gathering expeditions, because he "didn't get tired as we did". He also played an important role in the village.

[727] When the Apache trophy was hung up, if there was a berdache in the village, he might dance around it with a bow taunting it: "See what you are reduced to! The men will not look at you, but I, even I, can shoot you" (27).

[518] The berdache might marry, but often, since he was entirely able to work and support himself, he lived alone and was visited by the men. To each visitor he gave an obscene nickname and the men were very proud of these, since they were often bolder than those bestowed by women. No scorn was felt for the berdache. He was respected and liked by the women and his sex life with the men was a community institution.

One informant thus described her berdache brother-in-law:

"We girls used to spend all day with that man-woman, Shining Evening. She went off with us to gather plants and she could carry more than any of us and dig longer. She ground corn with us, all

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

Where the Rock Stands Up was nearer to where the white people live/59x than Where the Water Whirls Around. My husband had an adobe house687 there, not a brush house. He took me into it, and we lay down and rested. Then he said: "Since you have done this, my younger sister, look around and see your home." There was a little fireplace with a chimney, and inside there stood a box full of money. The old man raised horses and sold them to the white men and the Apaches. He opened that box and said: "Whatever you want, you buy." I had only the things I had on. I said: "I have no cloth to make clothes. And no sandals." I had come barefoot from Where the Water Whirls Around; we do not wear sandals except for long journeys. "In two days, get food ready and we'll go to Tucson. There are beans, flour, lard, wheat." So I ground the wheat and made tortillas.

We started on two horses for Tucson, not on one, as I had always ridden before. I had never been to Tucson. It was not like it is now, but there were stores. I bought a silk shawl, brown, with pink roses and long fringe. I was ashamed to spend so much but he said: "Buy another for every day." Then I would not have bought anything else but he bought a pair of shoes. I never had shoes before. He bought good pieces of calico and a canvas bag to put them in. He went to tie them on a horse, and he pointed to something in a window: "Don't you want that over there?" It was a sewing machine. I said: "What would I do with it?" So we left it and came home.

That old man had many horses. He traded them to the Apaches, and [439] they paid him money, not food and clothes, as my first husband used to be paid. He could go to Tucson and buy any kind of food he wanted, lard and wheat and potatoes and cow's meat. I got fat. I could not stoop over to put on those new shoes. My uncle came to see us when he was trading horses and he said: "What have you been feeding her?"

But I felt bad. I did not love that old man. I was not fond of him. I/59x used to go in the washes and lie flat under the greasewood bushes and cry. Or I would lie on the floor in the house, when my husband was away, covered up with blankets. It hurt.

I never saw my first husband again. They told me that when he heard of my new marriage he cried. He said: "I didn't think she would take my child from me. I thought she would stay near and at last come back."

He did not say anything about leaving that second wife, but she left him. I had gone when the watermelons were ripe, and that very autumn, [586] when the grass was dry, she went home. I did not know it. Where the Rock Stands Up was a day's run on foot from Where the Water Whirls Around. His brother came much later and told me, but then it was too late. In the spring, in the month of cholla ripening, he got sick. His brothers

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

horses, and there was something shining on his shoulder. It was the eyes of an owl. "What will you do with it?" I said. So he let it fly away. But I think he spoke with it after that, behind the mountain.

He had crystals growing in him, and I know he had dreams but he had not told them yet. People only tell their dreams when they begin to cure.

When he was seventeen he went to the drinking ceremony, and he met one of those wild women who run about without husbands and sleep in the arroyos. He put her on his horse and brought her home to Standing Rock. That was a bad thing. I did not like that, but we said nothing. Then she wanted money to buy things. She did not want him to stay and plant our corn with Two Bits. They went to the white man's town of Many Cottonwoods and had two children there. But that woman killed him.

She was a woman who would not wait and do things at the right time. She lay with my son in the house when she should have been at the Little House. That kills the power of a medicine man. It rots his crystals and after a while it kills him, too. So he came back to stay with my daughter and left that woman. She would not come back with him, out of the town.

I went there to my poor son and took him to a medicine man, but that one said: "His crystals are all dead and dried. They build combs like bees and those combs are empty and blue. His power is dead." So he died. "My mother," he said to me, "I will come to you like an owl. You will know me." And it is true. The other day I was passing by a giant cactus, and there sat an owl in the fork and called to me. It does not happen often. I would like to hear my son call again.

That wild woman who was his wife took another husband the next year at the drinking ceremony. The man's name was Jackrabbit Chief and he was an old man, but it was dark and she did not know it. She got on his horse with him and she said: "Where do you live?" "At the place of the Dead Dog," he said. The sun was coming up just then and she saw his face. "Oh, that's too far." She jumped off the horse and we have never seen her again.

My daughter never lived with us very much. She lived with my mother and my brother, so when it came for her to marry, it was my brother who offered her. There was a man named Crooked Lightning whose sister was married to my brother. Crooked Lightning was as old as my brother. He was a singer and a good man. He had a wife who scolded him but he did not scold her. Only one day he went away from her and came to my brother, and said he needed another wife. So my brother gave him my daughter, Crescenza. She is a big fat woman now, a good woman.

It has been a long time since my children were married. My old husband

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

581 Normally Papago marriages run smoothly and are quite stable. Whether the new home is with the groom's or the bride's parents, the other partner does not suffer an abrupt transition from his old home situation. As before, he is expected to work industriously to help earn the family living, to defer to his elders, and to be modest and inconspicuous.

593 885 At first the new couple may be the juniors of all other adults in the family group, and they have a corresponding lack of influence. During the first months of marriage the bride must prove her ability to fit into the family and do her full share of work. There may be some reserve toward her as a person who is not yet fully one of the group, but, with the birth of the first child, her status changes considerably. The chances of her going home to her parents are greatly diminished. The interests of the new mother and the household have now converged in the child, and she is bound to the others by a very tangible and important tie. She goes about her work with a new assurance and no longer stays in the background when there are visitors; instead she will be called on to display the youngest member of the family. There is a new warmth in the voices of family members when they speak of her, and she is more often mentioned and considered rather than simply included because she is present.

The young father's status is also changed, for he is no longer an irresponsible youth but a man with a family. His opinions in household matters are more seriously considered, and he can speak with assurance in discussions among the men. Paternity is not a prerequisite for recognized adulthood among Papago males, but the birth of a child undoubtedly contributes to the dignity of a man's position.

593 Gradually, as they grow older and have more children, the couple will assume more responsibility for family judgments. Ideally they will at last reach the position of being the seniors in the household, with the highest authority.

587 If a man's wife dies, he is likely to remarry. The children may remain with him or may be cared for by his, or his first wife's, parents. If a woman loses her husband, she may continue to live with his family, particularly if she has children, but ordinarily she returns to her parents' home.

586 Naturally, not every marriage is successful, and divorce, usually for incompatibility, is not uncommon. One or both parents may remarry, the children of the first marriage remaining with their mother or being cared for by grandparents, whichever arrangement suits the new couple. In the case of Indian-custom marriages, divorces must be obtained in the tribal court (see chap. vii).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Presbyterians preach against divorce but place no absolute ban upon it, as does the Roman Catholic church. For a Catholic, remarriage following divorce involves the risk of denial of communion or even excommunication. This is a serious deterrent to good Catholics, who are fairly numerous in the eastern districts. 586

CHILDREN IN THE PAPAGO FAMILY

Marriage without children is almost incomprehensible to the Papago. They invariably say, "Every girl wants to get married and have children." Contraceptive measures are so rare as to be almost unheard of, and the occasional woman who says she does not want children is severely criticized. Yet there are no strong sanctions against abortion. The Papago strongly disapprove, but they are not shocked into action, and there are no penalties except criticism; they feel that no one else can rightfully interfere with what is really the concern of a woman and her family. On the other hand, if a man and wife have no children for some time, there is speculation by others, and the couple may visit a medicine man to determine the cause. 842 847

If Papago are asked why they welcome children, they are likely to say, "They help us with the work. They take care of us when we are old." Neither of these reasons should be underestimated. Many hands make somewhat lighter the arduous work of wringing a living from the desert, and an assured source of help in old age is especially important in a society where savings accounts and insurance are virtually nonexistent, if not impossible, because cash incomes are too low. Then, too, children are welcomed by their parents because they bring improved social status. 842 [554]

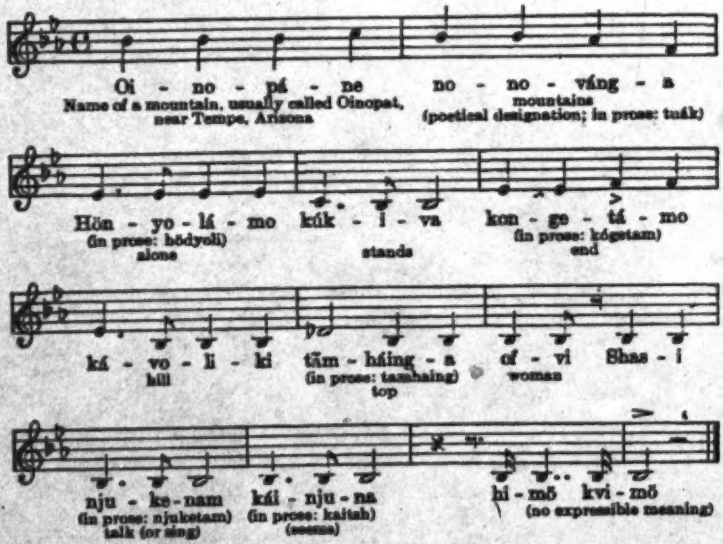
Undoubtedly bound up with all these factors, but potent in itself, is the sheer affection that the Papago have for their children. Open display of love is exceedingly rare between adults, but they fondle and make much of a child. Parents do not like to be separated from their children, and the usually reserved Papago man will allow himself to express such joy and affection at being reunited with his children as he would never show for his wife in public. Not only parents but all relatives pet little children. When small, children are treated as very dear and irresponsible beings; they are seldom struck or otherwise punished. But "when they know better," they are treated as individuals with growing responsibilities. They must learn to act in accordance with Papago ideals, to be obedient at all times, not to "talk back" to their elders, and to be unobtrusive when the elders are busy. But at no time are they set apart in a separate world; the activities of adults are open to them when they are ready and able to participate. 855

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

self to the girl's house and stays there four nights. Her mother then takes her to the bridegroom's home and leaves her there. No services of the medicine-man are necessary; if they mutually agree to live as husband and

PIMA SONG

USED WHEN THE YOUNG GIRLS COME OF AGE


Oi - no - pá - ne
Name of a mountain, usually called Oinopat, near Tempe, Arizona
no - no - váng - a
mountains (poetical designation; in prose: tuák)
Hön - yo - lá - mo
(in prose: hödyuli) alone
kúk - i - va
stands
kon - ge - tá - mo
(in prose: kógetam) end
ká - vo - li - ki
hill
tăm - háing - a
(in prose: tamhaing) top
of - vi
woman
Shas - i
nju - ke - nam
(in prose: njuketam) talk (or sing)
kái - nju - na
(in prose: kaitah) (seems)
hi - mŏ kvi - mŏ
(no expressible meaning)

This song may still be heard among the Papago, *e. g.*, at Ánekam rancheria in Santa Rosa valley, but it originated from the Pima.

wife, they remain in the house of the young man's father until the latter's death. The son may make a house for himself near by, but he helps his father in his work. If the girl does not like the boy, she may walk back to her parents. Conferences between the fathers will then ensue to try to adjust matters and, until recently, sometimes the

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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586 father of the girl would decide to whip her with a rope of rawhide to bring her to the proper way of thinking.

841 Certain periods of female life are looked upon with awe, even by the civilized Papago. If a hunter touches a woman at these times he will have bad luck or contract some disease. Formerly a girl in this condition could not touch her hair. If she wanted to scratch herself, it would have to be done with a stick, and even her
881 brother could not touch his hair. When the girls come of age, dancing and singing are kept up for many nights in succession in a very fatiguing fashion, as neither rest nor food is taken. No intoxicating drinks are partaken of, and one marvels at the exertions that primitive man finds it necessary to undertake in order that the girl may be started right in life. Formerly these ceremonies, each time lasting four nights, had to be performed on four occasions, and even thus the girl has to go for a few days'
[343] seclusion to the *bobólikaki*, a house specially set apart
534 for women considered temporarily impure. The dan-
881 cing on such occasions consists of a forward and backward rhythmical movement of two rows of men and women facing each other and at the same time slowly moving in a circle. The participants hold each other by the hand, and the movements are in time with the singing, four steps forward and four backward. In Quitovac where the Indians have been much influenced by the Mexicans, although they have given up the dancing part of the performances, the singing is kept up for eight nights or more in succession.

844 When the woman feels that her hour is approaching,

657 There are five welfare categories, Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind (all administered by the state welfare office), Child Welfare and General Assistance (administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs). In addition, everyone eligible for assistance in the above categories, plus those of minimum income, are eligible for surplus food under the Surplus Commodities Program (a state agency).

162 657 By 1962, according to Jones, the number of reservation welfare cases had jumped from 448 to 536, not counting an estimated fifteen children receiving Child Welfare benefits and 170 heads of households receiving surplus food. Counting dependents this means that more than 1800 residents out of a total of about 5000 on the three Papago reservations are receiving some assistance, directly or indirectly, from welfare programs.

162 657 178 [115] [586] [848] [164] [165] [586] Welfare statistics pertaining to the Papago reservations are given in Table 27. Trends for fiscal years 1958 through 1962 indicate a gradual increase in Aid to Dependent Children cases. This has been noted also for the non-Indian population as a whole. An opinion with respect to the reason for this was provided by Pima County welfare officials. More women and children tend to return to the reservation, or remain there. More women are finding out about ADC grants. In addition, there is a national increase, as well as a local increase, in divorce. There is also an increase in illegitimacy. The primary cause for the condition that makes a woman and her children eligible for A.D.C., however, is the death, disability or desertion of the father. On the reservations death claims 25% of such cases, disability 22%, and desertion about 19% of the total.

162 171 657 Given the nature of Papago family economy, the results of a comparison with the non-Indian population of Pima County are not particularly surprising. For 1961 the non-Indian population of the county was estimated to be 48 times as large as the reservation Indian population. Using the population ratio of 1 to 48